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Maricopa

The strongest were of mescal fiber. Bundles of the dried leaves of this plant were brought home, pounded, the connective tissue shaken out, and the fibers rolled into rope.

Head rings (kwĭcko') were used by women to support pots and other articles carried on the head. In earlier days, these were made of the inner bark of the willow; now they are simply bound rolls of old cloth. The neighboring Pima and Papago similarly use rings of willow bark and less commonly plaited of agave (mescal) leaf,[23] but it is unlikely that the Maricopa made the latter.

Metates and mortars.—These were the principal utensils for the preparation of meals. A man must not even lay his hands on them: if he were discovered using them, he would be ridiculed as a berdache. Metates were used somewhat more than mortars even in the old days when mesquite, which required pounding in the mortar, was the primary food.

The metate was a flat slab, roughly rectangular, with one prepared face used for grinding with a hand stone or mano. The metate was of a granite-like stone; the mano of a hard, close-grained sandstone. They were considered very valuable since it required a long time to work these tough stones into shape and they were constantly needed for household tasks. Both were formed by pecking with any convenient pointed boulder. Like the Pima, stone axes found in nearby ruins were also used to dress them. One small metate seen was roughly twenty-one inches long by fourteen inches wide and two inches thick. It was perfectly flat transversely, but, on its working surface, slightly concave longitudinally. The mano in use with this was as long as the metate was wide, and had a width such as to be conveniently grasped (fifteen inches long; five and a half inches wide; two inches thick). It was of rectangular cross-section, slightly convex in a longitudinal direction on top, with a true flat surface on the bottom (i.e., the grinding surface) which rose at an angle near each end.

When the metate was to be used, the woman knelt behind it.

[23] Russell, *Pima Indians*, p. 113; Kissell, *Basketry of the Papago and Pima*, p. 159.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Mohave
Yuma

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Maricopa

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Inasmuch as it was said that "there was one war leader [at a time]; when he died another took his place at dreaming," the suggestion is that, in general, the normal course was for a successor to dream the specific powers. This was specifically the case with chieftainship: the dead chief's successor (normally his son) dreamed the necessary oratorical powers. From this point of view, filial inheritance is to be regarded as only a special case. Certainly filial inheritance was not stressed. My informants repeatedly referred to shamans and singer without remarking that their fathers had had these capacities before them.

Both the progressive change in the character of the songs as they were learned in dreams and their withdrawal by the spirits because they were sung before the revelation was completed are exemplified by the following account.

A man sang the Mountain Killdeer songs [when young]. He would sit in broad daylight working on the cotton he was going to weave and still hear the bird's songs. He could hear them just as though a person was sitting beside him singing. He sang that he was taken by this little bird during the night to the bird's home at vikwâme' [the Mohave sacred mountain], where he was taught the songs by the bird. Mountain Killdeer had sung these songs to him for more than a year. He called it vitaai'c n,imsa'vâ, "white mountain killdeer." Then he went to Mountain Killdeer again, who now sang to him that his songs had turned black, meaning that he did not like this man because he had sung too early. The man told this, singing:

avinyaya'ka	mavinyaya'ka
he is going	
vîtaai'cvas	kwinyamusa'vic
mountain killdeer	twilight
amicova'aA	matiniinyamviyak
song	dark going

He sang this song at gatherings.[2] He no longer mentioned "white" in his songs. He would tell how the bird had said that he, the young man, had had his songs taken back. The old people said he would die young: he did.

The son of this man said it was queer that he did not dream of this, get it, after his father died, because this usually happened to a child. Then he did dream of it twice. He dreamed he was taken to a butte near Tempe and then to another. When he woke late he told his grown daughters. He then dreamed again that the person [spirit] appeared to him and was angry because he had told too soon. The person said, "I will never take you again." To make him forget what he had

[2] The method of singing and the associated dance are described elsewhere (pp. 231–33, 266).

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Maricopa
Kohuana

754 [578] [626] A man or woman would not bewitch because of a quarrel: it was on account of good looks or being prosperous. In my case it was because I [Kutox] always had good wheat and plenty of horses, and I was the first to get a wagon. That is the reason I always get sick. But I have had this man [the Pima shaman above] to take care of me all these years. The only way to keep from being bewitched is to go about quietly and share things with others; be kind.

But apparently a shaman could also be got to exercise his art in revenge, as the following incident implies.

About twenty-five years ago two Kohuana men were drinking in the Papago country. One was an old man of seventy or more, the other twenty years his junior. They quarreled. The younger pushed the elder flat on his back. Every time he tried to rise, the other kicked him in the stomach. The old man died. When his people heard of it, they decided to kill the murderer. All the Kohuana agreed to this except one man. They thought this man might cause trouble if they killed the murderer, so they did not carry out their intention. Much later, when he was over seventy, the murderer got sick, became paralyzed and died. Because of the partizanship of one man, they could not beat him to death. But it is believed that the shamans accomplished his death.

[648] [578] Bewitchment was greatly feared. "We do not trust one another: that is why we had the Pima shaman. Our people do not like to tell who did the bewitching."

683 A malevolent shaman was slain if discovered, "but now the law protects them. They are keeping it up, so we are dying out." If they thought that a shaman made people sick, they agreed on killing him. His relatives would not avenge his death, because they knew he had caused the death of others; "they would say it was all right." Apparently such slayings were rather frequent.

754 The procedure for bewitching was highly stereotyped. A bit of wood was shaped flat and narrow by the malicious person, who notched its edge or scratched lines across it, one for each victim, whom he named as he cut them. Sometimes an owl feather and a bit of charcoal (or recently the head of a match) was tied to it, so that the victim would have fever. Or these were stuffed into a short cane tube. "When he did this, he sat down and talked to the stick just as though talking to a person." He named the number of days until each victim would succumb and how he would sicken. "Sometimes he would say the victim would be sick in two or four days, in a month, or two weeks. On that day the victim knows he is sick." He might also say to the stick that the

627

627 INFORMAL INGROUP JUSTICE--unformalized mechanisms for adjusting grievances and applying sanctions within the community; private retaliation (e.g., lynching, tarring and feathering, feuding); negotiation and compromise; informal hearings before the headman or local council; etc. Data on justice will be filed under 69 rather than under this category whenever formal judicial institutions are found even at the community level. See also:

Liability . . . . . 67 Offenses and punishments 68

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Maricopa

423 own the land: we all owned it, so that a man could choose what land he pleased." Women also owned fields, that is, normally only widows who had no male members of their families to plant for them.

[133] Since floods were slow and mild on the Gila, a stream with low gradient and wide flood plains, there were no difficulties caused by a marauding stream necessitating relocation of the fields.

Boundaries came into dispute: such quarreling had its special name, xamĺltŏ'tà ak,e'vàm, "[boundaries] bristling side by side." This was one of the rare occasions when the dead were named, not in insult, but as warrant of ownership. "My father had his land over to there, but when you took it you pushed it [the boundary] over to here"; to which the other would reply, "No, my land extended farther to your side." Exasperating and [578] drawn-out quarrels arose over minute pieces of land. If they [627] finally reached the fighting stage, a third man was called on to decide. He might say, "Your land is good enough to that place, so give up this little piece for his benefit, so he will not have any more to say," or he would divide the disputed patch equally. [171] There were, however, no pushing contests or stick fights over disputed boundaries in the manner of the Mohave.[10]

Cultivation in all its stages was man's work, but gathering the 462 harvest was woman's alone. At that time men were busy making [343] the store houses for pumpkins and watermelons. An old woman, with no men to help her, would, of course, plant for herself.

423 It is now difficult, with the old fields long done away with, to discover what the ownership of field tracts may have been. But 428 it seems to have followed on this male occupation with cultivation that fields were, on the whole, regarded as the personal possessions of men. Inheritance was specifically said to be in the male line. Normally when a man died, the land was inherited by his immediate family: his widow, sons and daughters. Ultimately it came into the possession of the children. A daughter would get some one to plant for her. It may well be that daughters did 423 not transmit their claim.

768 During the period of mourning, the survivors made no use of

[10] Kroeber, *Handbook*, p. 744.

628

628 INTER-COMMUNITY RELATIONS--traditional friendships and rivalries between communities; establishing, maintaining, and breaking relations; blood vengeance; feuds; negotiation and composition (e.g., payment of wergild); mediation and arbitration; etc. See also:

Formal justice 69
War 72
Gang wars 879
International law 648

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER VII

SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHIEFTAINSHIP AND MEETINGS

619 National solidarity was strong among the Maricopa. This is
[171] the same sentiment recorded for other Yuman tribes of western Arizona and which sets them off so markedly from Californian peoples. The Maricopa constantly referred to themselves as a single homogeneous people, all participating equally in their group life and all united against their enemies. This despite the fact that their settlements were sprawling agglomerations of households spread over a considerable area.

[643] The solidarity expressed itself in at least three ways. There was but one chief for the whole tribe so far as is known. Men of prominence might be found in the several villages but they had no formal status as chiefs. Again, there were no internecine
[628] feuds. In all the long discussions with informants, there was never so much as a hint of conflict between families or villages. And
[701] further, in warfare they presented a united front against their
[726] enemies, whether in attack or defense. Minor raids took place, to be sure, but what stands out in their minds are the massed battles in which a large proportion of their able-bodied men took part. This attitude of the Maricopa seems to have been duplicated among the tribes now resident with the Maricopa when in their original homes on the Colorado, although here our data are so slight as to be inconclusive. But once the remnants of these
[563] tribes had been incorporated in the Maricopa community, they felt themselves completely identified with their Maricopa hosts as forming one coherent whole.

643 Both Maricopa and Halchidhoma had chiefs whose position
824 was hereditary and functions vague. It proved difficult to get
787 adequate information about them. Dreamers (shamans and others) were mentioned frequently and voluntarily; specific ques-

643

643 CHIEF EXECUTIVE--type of executive (e.g., paramount chief, king, president); plural executives (e.g., peace chief and war leader, king and chief priest, constitutional monarch and prime minister, triumvirate, executive council); authority (e.g., supreme, nominal, dependent upon personal qualities); prestige (e.g., sanctity of person, divine descent); functions (e.g., administrative, judicial, military, religious); prerogatives; symbols of office; mode of selection (e.g., by election, seniority, matrilineal or patrilineal succession); qualifications (e.g., age, sex, rank, wealth, prowess, piety); installation; termination of tenure (e.g., deposition, expiration of term, killing of divine king); etc. See also:

Executives and rule of succession in the family . . 59
Executives and succession in kin groups 61
Dynastic lists and genealogies 173
Executives and succession in the community . . 622
Mortuary rites 784, 786

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
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Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Kohuana
Halyikwamai

tioning had to be directed to chieftainship with but unsatisfactory results. It would seem that others were at least equally prominent socially: shamans, song and dance leaders, the directors of funerals and mourning ceremonies, custodians of scalps, war leaders, orators, etc. All or most of them had the prestige that derived from dreaming the powers that entitled them to their positions. In a society that put a premium on dream-sanctions, it is intelligible why the chief, whose functions were of little moment, should receive slight attention.

There seems to have been but one chief at a time in each of the tribes. The difficulty is that our information relates to the period of joint community of Maricopa, Halchidhoma, Kohuana, and Halyikwamai. The groups were then impoverished in numbers and lived in mixed and scattered settlements interdigitated with Pima. There is also a question how far the chief's prestige or the office itself was due to recognition by Mexican authorities.

At the Sacate settlement when Kutox was a boy, about 1855, the Pima, Halchidhoma, and Kohuana had each their own chief. Sumîl,a'm, "down-feathers travelling," was the Kohuana chief. He was entering old age at the time, and while he might have been chief when they came from the Colorado (1838–39), Kutox was uncertain.[1] At about the same time Malai', a man of like age, was chief of the Halchidhoma, then a group of perhaps twenty families. He may have been appointed by the Mexicans when they were in Mexico twenty years before. Kutox did not know whether, in an earlier period, there had been more than one Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief at a time. It seems unlikely: since he could remember the ancestry of chiefs of his day, he should have known of plural chiefs in earlier times. Last Star declared emphatically that the Maricopa had but one chief at a time.

The Maricopa tribal chief was in reality the chief of the strongest village. Other villages lacked chiefs: "they came to that place when they wanted to find out anything." Practically he was chosen by the people of his village: they simply came to him for advice and to have him address them, until he came to be recognized as chief. In native theory, however, he dreamed his position. Last Star was not certain what spirit was the subject

[1] Papago-foot, mentioned by Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) on Mohave authority as Kohuana chief about 1883, was, according to Kutox, not a chief but a respected old man. Last Star thought he may have been given a trial as chief, but could not have held the position for any great time.

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Maricopa

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643 [787] [825] of a chief's dreams, but presumed it must have been the mocking bird, because anyone who desired to become an orator dreamed of this bird.

His successor was his son or other close relative in the patrilineal line. The rule was not absolute but dependent on the competence or willingness of the logical successor. Normally the inheritor was a son (not of necessity the eldest son) because it was assumed that "the son had been instructed by his father, but they would pass over an incompetent son for a close relative on the father's side." The successor's competence was taken as a sign that he, in his turn, had had the requisite dreams. In default of a qualified son, the dead chief's brother or brother's son was chosen. The transmission was through the chief's sister only if she had sons while his brother had none. No woman could inherit the position. In the case cited below, the succession was to a filial grandson because the daughter could not hold office.

173 643 The first Maricopa chief who could be recalled by Kutox was killed by the Mohave at Sacate. "He had wanted his sister's sons [*sic*] to be chief in his place, but they [the sons or the people?] refused." Then the people chose his eldest son, but he too refused; the chieftaincy going to his second son Xan,igwacxa'm[4], "frog beater." The latter was killed in battle in Yuma territory before Kutox was born (1847). He had a sister who had no son but a daughter. The son of this daughter was chosen chief. This man was Charlie Redbird's father. Charlie would now be chief if they had one. Last Star knew nothing of earlier chiefs, but thought the transmission was from an unnamed chief[2] through his daughter to Charlie Redbird's father. He is probably correct, but in [613] either case the principle is the same; that transmission was always through the paternal lineage though not of necessity through males. It is obvious that the chieftaincy did not remain in a single sib.[3]

[769] [2] Here occurred an instance of the emphatic refusal to name the dead, perhaps because Last Star was talking of his wife's ancestors (his wife being Charlie Redbird's sister) in the presence of Charlie's wife.

[3] The Mohave cited to Kroeber (*Handbook*, p. 801) the name of the Maricopa chief at the time of the Kohuana adhesion (1838) as Aha-kurrauva, and about

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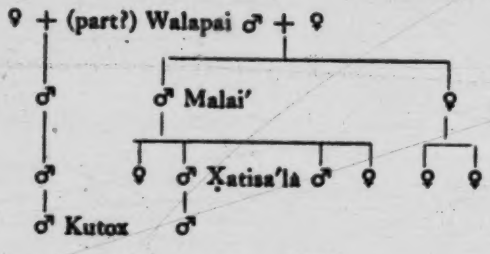
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

The first Maricopa chief mentioned was a great warrior against the Yavapai. When the Mohave came to Sacate he fled his house with his wife. Immediately he remembered he had left his feather bonnet inside. He said, "Even if I am killed, I must have it to wear." He went back, while his wife waited. By the time he rejoined her, the Mohave overtook them and killed both. 173 643

There is a suggestion in the single chiefly lineage known to the Halchidhoma informant Kutox that a man might rise to that dignity by his own efforts. Malai' was remembered as the Halchidhoma chief, who died at the age of seventy when Kutox was young (about 1855–60). His place was taken by his eldest son, Ẋatisa'là, "doghand," who died recently. Who was chief before Malai' was not known, but it was certainly not his Walapai or part Walapai father. This is corroborated by the fact that Kutox's paternal grandfather, Malai''s older half-brother, was not a chief. The son of Ẋatisa'là was never chief and was said never to have had pretensions. He was known as the dreamer of the Deer song. It is quite likely that his opportunity for succession came after the break-down of tribal society. [555]



A Maricopa or Halchidhoma chief was called hutcâci'pĭc, "adviser," or pipavâtai', "big man," "because we think he is above everybody in the village. Everybody listens and obeys him." There were other designations for chiefs: gâmu'lvĭnc, "one who has the name [of honor]"; gwĭn,ai'vĭc, "one who tells things"; hamu'lĭg, "well-known"; kina'pk, "praised"; but the last two terms at least were also applied to others, for instance, to those who had killed enemies. 643 [554]

1883 as Ahwanchevari (wantcâvaai' according to the Maricopa; named as Juan Chevereah in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1858*, p. 207). He also had power to cure (p. 287).

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Maricopa

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1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

Inasmuch as it was said that "there was one war leader [at a time]; when he died another took his place at dreaming," the suggestion is that, in general, the normal course was for a successor to dream the specific powers. This was specifically the case with chieftainship: the dead chief's successor (normally his son) dreamed the necessary oratorical powers. From this point of view, filial inheritance is to be regarded as only a special case. Certainly filial inheritance was not stressed. My informants repeatedly referred to shamans and singer without remarking that their fathers had had these capacities before them.

Both the progressive change in the character of the songs as they were learned in dreams and their withdrawal by the spirits because they were sung before the revelation was completed are exemplified by the following account.

A man sang the Mountain Killdeer songs [when young]. He would sit in broad daylight working on the cotton he was going to weave and still hear the bird's songs. He could hear them just as though a person was sitting beside him singing. He sang that he was taken by this little bird during the night to the bird's home at vikwâme' [the Mohave sacred mountain], where he was taught the songs by the bird. Mountain Killdeer had sung these songs to him for more than a year. He called it vitaṙi'c ṇ,ĭmsa'vâ, "white mountain killdeer." Then he went to Mountain Killdeer again, who now sang to him that his songs had turned black, meaning that he did not like this man because he had sung too early. The man told this, singing:

avinyaya'ka he is going	mavinyaya'ka
vĭtaṙi'cvas mountain killdeer	kwinyamusa'vic twilight
amicova'ṙâ song	matiṇinyamviyak dark going

He sang this song at gatherings.[3] He no longer mentioned "white" in his songs. He would tell how the bird had said that he, the young man, had had his songs taken back. The old people said he would die young: he did.

The son of this man said it was queer that he did not dream of this, get it, after his father died, because this usually happened to a child. Then he did dream of it twice. He dreamed he was taken to a butte near Tempe and then to another. When he woke late he told his grown daughters. He then dreamed again that the person [spirit] appeared to him and was angry because he had told too soon. The person said, "I will never take you again." To make him forget what he had

[3] The method of singing and the associated dance are described elsewhere (pp. 231–33, 266).